A Mylo- Mation

## LETTER

TO

Sir JOHN PHILLIPS, Bart.

OCCASION'D

By a BILL brought into Parliament to Naturalize Foreign PROTESTANTS.



LONDON:

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Sir John Phirrips, Bart



LONDON!

Frincel for M. Coopen, at the Charles Pater



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## LETTER

TO

Sir John Phillips, Bart. &c.

SIR,



S you have a Bill now depending in your House for naturalizing Foreign Protestants, and the Subject thereof being become the Topic of Conversation, I

flatter my self that you won't think this Address impertinent; and as our present Circumstances are not greatly different

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from what they were some Years since; to see this Measure in the Light it was then seen by our Ancestors, may be of some Use for the forming of your Opinion on the present Occasion.

The Subject has several times undergone the Consideration of Parliament, into which it was always introduced upon the Maxim, that the Increase of People is the advancing the Wealth and Strength of a Nation: However uncontrovertible this Maxim may be in regard to Natives; I am sure it will never meet with an universal Consent in regard to Foreigners.

It has been an Observation in almost all Countries, that a peculiar Affection appears in most Men for the Place of their Nativity; Mankind with their first Breath are naturalized to the Soil, and so great an Effect is fixed upon the Constitution, that it becomes the Element that they best thrive in, and in return the Interest and Welfare of that Place, or that Country are always predominant, altho' their After-Situation of Life should be at ever so great a Distance.

I have faid, this happens in almost all Countries; I am forry that wherein we live should be an Exception to this general Rule; but it's too apparent, that in these our modern Days we see a Set of Men of Taste (as they are pleased to call themselves) who despise Englishmen, English Food, and English Liberty, for no other Reason, than that they are the Product of the Places of their Nativity; whilst they furnish themselves from a foreign Climate with every Vice, and every Species of Luxury, that can render 'em ridiculous in the Eyes of those Foreigners, who are fo fond of becoming Denizens of this Kingdom.

I am forry that every Day's Experience verifies this Affertion; and to this, I fear, is owing this Attempt to Naturalize Foreigners, in order to corrupt and impoverish the few, that remain untainted by French Ragoûts and Italian Effeminacy.

This Bill was first attempted in the Year 1694, but there was then such an English Spirit appeared, that it was rejected with Disdain. The Speech made

by Sir John Knight, Representative for Bristol, on that Occasion, is so memorable, that I can't help transcribing it entire.



Realon, then the culture as

Mr. SPEAKER,

Have heard of a Ship in a violent Storm, in Danger of perishing every Moment; [it was not fuch a tham Storm ' as we were lately entertain'd with in the Gazette, which deceives the People, that many Ships going for France, laden with Corn, were cast away, tho' those Ships and many more are fince fafely arriv'd in France; but it was fuch a real Storm, as on the 7th of the last Month destroy'd, on the Coast of Cornwall, upwards of 70 Sail of our Eng-' lish Ships, most of which were laden with Corn, and feveral Sorts of Provi-' fions, for the Use of our D - Allies, ' to enable them to live cheap, by making the same dear at Home; perhaps, fome

fome were for the Support of our half-' starv'd, and unpaid English Soldiers now in Flanders; when perish'd likewise more than 700 Sailors, who have left a great many Widows, Children, and poor Relations, to curse our Conduct at Sea, the Cause of this Calamity: In fuch a dreadful Storm it was that the aforefaid Ship was in] when the good Commander feeing the Danger, and apprehending Death, defir'd his Crew to affift with Resolution, and preserve themselves and the Ship; which the Sailors refufing to do, he retir'd to his Cabbin, humbled himself in Prayer, and implor'd the Powers that alone can fave in Time of Need, that tho' the Ship and the Company might be justly swallow'd up, for the Disobedience of the Sailors, yet that he and his Cabbin might fuffer no Damage.

Sir, I cannot, as that good Commander der did, be so vain as to hope, that either my self, or the Place for which I serve, can be preserved from the general Inundation, which this Bill, we are now debating, lets in on the Liberties of my Native Country and Countrymen; and therefore be unconcerned for the Good

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of England, provided Briftol were fafe. 'To hope for, and expect Happiness in Life, when all Mankind but my felf ' are dead, would not be more deceiving, ' than to propose Comfort and Security to my felf and Corporation, when Stran-' gers are admitted to possess and enjoy, by a Law, all that's valuable in this Kingdom; for this Bill doth enfranchise all Strangers, that will fwear and protest ' against Popery, with the Liberties of every Englishman, after the vast Expence of Treasure and English Blood, it hath cost this Kingdom in all Times and Ages of our Fore-fathers, to fecure them to themselves and their Postefrity. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, I must beg Pardon, if at this Time I cannot fit filent, but express a zealous Concern,

Pardon, if at this Time I cannot fit filent, but express a zealous Concern, as well for the Kingdom in general, as for the Place I represent in particular; and I am more mov'd thereunto, whilst I see so many Members sent here by their Country, for the Conservation of the Englishmens Liberties, so warm as to part with all to Strangers with one Vote.

The Argument of the honourable Person near me, to render all the Care of our Fore-fathers of no Esteem amongst us, who are, or ought to be the Representatives of the Kingdom, was to prove that this Age and Generation are wiser (he did nor say honester) than

the former. 'I remember a West-Countryman, ' many Years past, undertook to prove the fame to me and my Company beyond Sea, by declaring his Father was a Fool to him: I yielded him that Point, by concluding both to be fuch; and yet our Fore-fathers might be wife Men. I shall o not at this Time question the Wisdom of those who promote the Bill, or their Fathers. For my felf, I declare in behalf of the Wisdom and Honesty of our ' Predecessors; nor can I affent to the ' yielding up of the Liberties and Laws they derived unto us, only because some Gentlemen think better of themselves (and perhaps mistakenly) than of their Parents.

Sir, I was early instructed in a Principle of Deserence to the Wisdom of our
Ancestors; and at this Time I tremble,
when I restect on the Correction given

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me by my Master, that I might not forget, but imitate and defend in all Times

this Rule; Let them only be accounted good, just, and wife Men, who regard

and defend the Statutes. Laws, Ordinances, and Liberties, which their Fore-

fathers Wisdom and Experience obtain'd

for themselves and Posterity.

' Now, it is my Opinion, Mr. Speaker, that if those Gentlemen who approve of this Bill, had not only been taught that Rule, but as well corrected as my-

felf, they would be of my Judgment; and I wish that they who depart from that Rule, and facrifice our English Li-

berties to a Number of mercenary Fo-

reigners, may not meet with a much more rigorous and exemplary Chaftife-

ment from their enraged and ruined

Countrymen.

'The Arguments us'd for the Bill, are ' in Substance these: First, a Want of

' Purchasers for our Lands. Second, Of

'Merchants. Third, Manufacturers, who can work cheaper than the English.

· Fourth, Husbandmen to till the Ground.

To all these I shall return short An-' fwers; but if I debate not on them with

' that Advantage and Reason as our Land-Admi-

Admirals can (no doubt) with great Ingenuity on Sea-Politicks, I hope the · House will pardon me ; for my Observations never colt the Kingdom such Expence of Money at Home, and Losses at Sea, as bath the Experience of those ' bonourable Persons in Sea Affairs. 1st, It is argued by some, that we want · Purchasers for the Lands: This is a me-' lancholy Confideration; I therefore de-' fire those Gentlemen who approve of this Bill, to tell me what it is hath brought ' us to this Condition, that the landed ' Men of England are reduced to fo low ' an Ebb, that they must sell, and none ' left able to buy, unless Foreigners are ' naturalized: Doth this prove our Fore-' fathers wanted Understanding? Or, doth 'it not rather conclude it's occasion'd by ' our Want of theirs, and not following ' their Examples? Who never tax'd their ' Country to the Ruin both of themselves ' and their Posterity; nor did they expend the Money of the Kingdom on fuch Al-' lies as ours; who, as we have been inform'd by some of the Privy-Council, ' are not in our Interest, and will spare us one of their Men for our Pay, without

great Pensions likewise for themselves.

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'Can any Man hope to persuade me, that our Forefathers would have brought

foreign Soldiers into England, and pay

them, and naturalize them likewise, and

at the same time send the English Sol-

diers abroad to fight in a strange Land

' without their Pay?

Let us abate our Taxes, and after the wife Precedent of our Fathers, pay our

own Seamen and Soldiers at Home, and

fend the Foreigners back; then the Money will be found circulating at Home in

fuch Englishmen's Hands, who may buy

' the Lands that are to be fold, without

' naturalizing Strangers.

' Secondly, It's faid, we want more 'Merchants: Who may we thank for

bringing so many to Poverty? But

I shall forbear grating, and defire

' the Liberty to consider in short, how the Trade of England hath hitherto

been carry'd on. Gentlemen have plac'd

their younger Children to Merchants;

their Masters observing their Honesty

' and Diligence, when they have gained

fome Experience in the necessary Parts

' of Trade, generally fend them abroad to

· Turkey, all Parts of the Levant, to

Spain, Portugal, the East and West-In-

dies, and to all Parts where England holds

any

any confiderable Commerce; there the young Men are employ'd by, and entrufted with the Stocks and Estates of ' their Masters and Friends, whereby all Parties, both the Principals at Home, and the Factors Abroad, are advantag'd, and England enrich'd, (for there in the · End all centers;) and at last, when they ' are satiated with Gain, they return to their native Soil, their Friends and Re-' lations for Ease and Enjoyment, making Room for a younger Generation to fucceed in their profitable Employments. 'Thus hitherto this Kingdom hath ad-' vanc'd in Riches, whilft Foreigners could not with Success plant their Fac-' tories on us, thro' the Advantage we had by our Laws. Let us but turn the Tables. and confider the Consequence: Suppose " we pass this Bill, and Foreigners / who, ' no Doubt, will take the Oaths as this Bill directs, and protest against Popery and Paganism, and on occasion Christianity too, as at Japan) fend their Servants and Factors hither, and we natu-' ralize them; and let the Capital Stock, which gets an Employ to these new-' made Englishmen, belong to their Mas-' ters and Friends, who never did, or ever will live amongst us; will it not then follow,

follow, that the Profit will be theirs, and not England's? and will not the new-made English, (yet Foreignersstill) return to their Country and Friends with their Gain, as our People hitherto have done? We may observe, by our inland Trade, that it's seldom they who make the Manusactures gain Estates, but those who employ their Stocks in buying and selling what others make; and it is the same with the Merchants, those that export and import, are the Gainers; the first Maker very seldom, the Consumptioner never.

'The Conclusion then of this Experiment must be this, That what hath hit therto been Gain to England by English Merchants and Factors, will be turned to a foreign Land, by the foreign Merchants naturalized, for their own Good, not England's.

But this is not all, for at once the Art of Navigation will be render'd useless. Whence then will be a Nursery for Seamen? For foreign Merchants will

naturalize foreign Seamen; and when the Press-masters find them, they will

' Dutchen spraken, ya min beer, and a' void the Service; but at the Custom-

bouse,

boufe, Exchange, and in all Corporations, they will be found as good Eng-' Ushmen as any be of this House. From whence it followeth, that Trade will be only carry'd on by foreign Merchants ' and Seamen, and the English Seamen condemned to our Men of War, and perhaps live there, as hitherto, without their Pay, till another Million be ow-' ing them for Wages, and in the Inte-' rim have this only Consolation and Reward for Service done, and to be done, ' that their Wives and Children may be ' subsisted with the Alms of the Parish, whilst foreign Soldiers are maintained at Home and Abroad, with their · Pay. comit or han by

'A third Argument for admitting Foreigners, is, upon a supposed Want
we have of Manufacturers, especially
such as will work cheaper than the English. In my Opinion this Reasoning is
extraordinary, and ought not to take
Air out of the House, lest the old
English Spirit should exert itself in Defence of its Liberties: For at this Time,
when all Provisions are become excessive
dear by the great Quantities exported
beyond Sea, which puts the poor Eng-

' lift Manufacturers on starving in most ' Parts of England, for Want of a full ' Employ to enable them to support their ' Families by their honest and painful Labour and Industry; shall an English · Parliament let in Strangers to underfell our Country? which they may eafily do, whilst they live in Garrets, pay no ' Taxes, and are bound to no Duty. How ' shall we answer this to our Country, ' who fent us here? When by fo doing, ' instead of making the Kingdom more ' populous, we provide only for the Sub-' fiftance of Foreigners, and put our ' Countrymen to the choice of starving at Home, or to turn Soldiers, and be ' fent Abroad, and to starve there for want of their Pay; for it is well known that at this Time, more Commodities ' are made in England, than can be con-' firmed Abroad or at Home, which ' makes the poor Manufacturers so mi-' ferable. All Country Gentlemen within this House, have for several Sessions ' laboured what they could to raife the Price of the Provisions which their Lands produce, and some think it not great enough yet; and they would defpise that Man, who should endeavour to

to lower the Rates, by proposing a free ' Importation of Irish Cattle and Corn, ' tho' he had no other Design, than that charitable and necessary one of reliev-' ing the Poor : And yet these very Gentlemen are for this Bill, because they would have the Labour of the Poor brought to a lower Advantage. my Opinion, this is a very unequal Way of Reasoning, that whilst we raise the Price of the Product of ' the Land, for the Gentlemen to live ' in greater State, at the fame time our ' Consults are how to make the half-' starv'd Manufacturers, that live by their ' daily Labour, more and more miserable. ' What Opinion will the common People s of England have of this House, and ' the Gentlemen of the Kingdom, whom ' nothing can please, but what is made ' by Foreigners, or comes from Abroad? Our Palates for a long Time have been fo nice, that nothing but a French 'Cook could please; nor could we perfwade ourselves that our Cloathing was good, unless from Head to Foot we were Alamode de France. The Gentleman was not well ferv'd, without a Frenchman; and the Lady's Commode could not fit right, if her fine French-' woman

' woman did not put it on. Now on a ' fudden, the Change is as violent in Fa-' vour of the Foreigners, who are great Courtiers, and the only taking People; and our English are a fort of clumsy-' fisted People, if compared with the mo-' dish D- Hans and Fro; and in short, the Englishmen are fit for nothing, but ' to be fent beyond Sea, and there either to fight, steal, or starve for want of Pay. ' There is one Thing, Mr. Speaker, which comes into my Mind, with which I ' shall close this Consideration. What ' Reason was there for blaming the Mayors, Aldermen, Common-councils, and other Governors of Corporations, for ' furrendring the Charters, though they 'still retained the Rights for Englishmen only to come into new Charters, and at the same hope Time to justify our Proceedings, though we throw up the great Charter of our English Liberties, to admit Strangers? A fourth Pretence for this Bill, is, Want of Husbandmen to till the Ground. I shall say little on this Head, but request the honourable Person be-' low me, to tell me of the forty thou-' sand French, which he confesseth are

come into England, how many does he

Balano s

'know

know, that at this Time follow the

Plow-tail? For it's my firm Opinion,

that not only the French, but any other

' Nation this Bill shall let in upon us,

' will never transplant themielves for the

Benefit of going to Plough; they will

contentedly leave the English the fole

' Monopoly of that Slavery.

' Upon the whole, Sir, it's my Judg-' ment, that should this Bill pass, it will

bring as great Afflictions on this Nation,

' as ever fell upon the Ægyptians; and

one of their Plagues we have at this

Time very fevere upon us; I mean,

' that of their Land bringing forth Frogs ' in abundance, even in the Chambers of

' their Kings: For there is no entring the

Courts, the Palaces of our hereditary

' Kings, for the great Noise and Croak-

' ing of the Frog-Landers. 'Mr. Speaker, this Nation is a religious, just, and zealous Nation, who, in ' fome of their Fits and Zeal have not only quarrell'd and fought for the fame,

but have murder'd and depos'd Kings,

' Nobles, Bishops, and Priests, for the ' Sake of their Religion and Liberties,

' which they pretended to prove from the

Bible. We are the religious Represen-

tatives of this religious People; let us

there-

therefore learn Instruction in this Cafe before us, from that good Book; where we may be inform'd, that St. Paul, by being born free of heathen Rome, escap'd a Whipping, and valued and pleaded that Privilege; and the chief Captain of the Romans prides himself, that he, with a great Sum, had obtain'd that Freedom, and fear'd greatly when he ' had violated St. Paul's Liberty, by binding of him; and shall we set at nought the Freedoms of the English Nation, ' who are a religious Christian Kingdom, and part with the same to Strangers, for nothing, unless the Undoing of our own Countrymen, who fent us here, but not on this Errand? Certainly we ' should follow the Example of the Roman Captain, and fear and tremble when we confider the just Provocation we shall give to the Kingdom, who will expect that we preserve, and not destroy every Englishman's Birth-right. Sir, we may farther learn from that Book, the Fate of the Ægyptians, who experimented on the Score of Charity,

Book, the Fate of the Agyptians, who experimented on the Score of Charity, what it is a People may expect from admitting Strangers into their Country and Councils. Joseph was a Stranger, fold a Slave into Agypt, yet being taken into

into Pharaoh's Council, he, by Taxes and other fine Projects, brought the feven Years Plenty God had bleft the Æ-' gyptians with, into the Grainaries of ' Pharaoh; but when Dearth came on ' the Land, and the People cry'd to their ' King for Relief, they were fent to the Stranger Joseph, who getteth from ' them, for that which was once their own, all their Money, their Cattle, their ' Lands, and last of all, their Persons into Slavery; tho', at the fame Time, he ' did far otherwise by his own Country-' men, for he plac'd them in the best of ' the Land, the Land of Goshen, and nourish'd them from the King's Store. ' This Example should teach us to be wife ' in Time, feeing all this was done by the ' Advice of one Foreigner in the Privy ' Council; and what may that Country expect, where the Head, and many of the Council, are Foreigners? ' Sir, I perceive some Gentlemen are uneafy; perhaps I have offended them, ' in supposing they are religious Repre-' fentatives, or concluding, that their Re-' ligion is to be prov'd from the Bible: If that be it which displeaseth, I beg their Pardon, and promise not to offend 'again

' again on that Score; and will conclude

' all with this Motion, That the Serjeant

be commanded to open the Doors, and

f let us first kick the Bill out of the House,

and then Foreigners out of the King-

dom.

Thus spoke a True British Representative. I wish the Matter of it was not, in many Respects, too applicable to our

present Circumstances.

In the 7th Year of the late Queen Ann, it was again brought into the House of Commons; and, tho' strongly opposed, passed through that and the other House, and obtained the Royal Assent.—The Reasons published against it were to the Effect following:

I. That the Conflux of Aliens, which would probably be the Effect of such a Law, might prove dangerous to our Conflitution; for these would owe Allegiance to their respective Princes, and retain a Fondness for their native Countries; and therefore, whensoever a War should break out, might prove so many Spies and Enemies. Besides, under this Pretence, the professed Enemies of our establish'd Church and

and Religion, might flock over with defign to effect their Overthrow.

- 2. That a general Naturalization might undoubtedly spread an universal Disgust and Jealousy throughout the Nation; particularly in those Cities and Towns that are Places of Manusacture; there having been many Complaints and Commotions in London, and elsewhere, on occasion of Foreigners.
- 3. That the Design of inviting Multitudes of Aliens to settle here, might prove in time a farther Mischies; for they would not only be capable of voting at Elections, but also of being chosen Members of Parliament; have Admission into Places of Trust and Authority; which, in process of time, might endanger our ancient Polity and Government; and by frequent Inter-marriages, go a great way to blot out and extinguish the English Race.
- 4. That, anciently, Naturalizations, by Act of Parliament, were feldom or never made but upon some special Reasons and particular Occasions. And the some Acts had given Encouragement to foreign Merchants

chants and Weavers to fettle here, it was when our Weaving-Trade, and other Manufactures, were inconsiderable to the Advancement they had fince attained. Besides, from the Settlement of the great Customs in Edward I.'s Time, in all Acts of Parliament since passed, Aliens had always been charged with an Increase of Customs, above Natives, and a Discrimination kept up between them, as was particularly remarked by the learned Chief Justice Hale, in a Tract against a general Naturalization.

5. That it was more than probable, that the greatest Number that would come over would be of poor People, which would be of fatal Confequence with refpect to the many poor, industrious Families, who would be reduced to the utmost Streights hereby; it being evident, that no Hands were wanted to carry on our Manufactures, from the great Quantities that lay on hand, their Cheapness, and the Lowness of Wages now given: What then would be the Effect of fuch an Addition? For these Aliens would altogether fettle in Places of Manufacture; there being no Instances of any of the late Refugees chants

fugees betaking themselves to the Spade, Plough, or Flail. Secondly, It would be a very great Charge to those Parishes wherein they would settle; there being now great Numbers of French, who, for want of Work, were relieved, and in great measure maintained by the Queen's Bounty, and Charity of their Churches, and other well-disposed Persons; who, when naturalized, would have Recourse to their own respective Parishes for an Allowance.

- 6. That a general Naturalization would, in Effect, defeat the Patent of the Act of Navigation, which had always been esteemed to conduce to the Interest of the Nation, by the Encouragement and Increase of the English Mariners, and Advance of Trade.
- 7. That hereby, in Process of Time, Aliens would be advanced in Riches, and her Majesty's Subjects impoverish'd: For those beneficial Trades of buying and selling by Commissions, Remittances, and Exchanges of Money, would, in great measure, be engrossed by Foreigners, by reason of their many Friends and Relations

tions abroad. Besides, such Aliens generally living in Lodgings, and at little Charge, frequently escaping public Taxes and Parish Duties, would be able to undersell and undermine the native Merchants.

- 8. That hereby the Treasure of the Nation would be exhausted, and remitted into foreign Parts: For it might well be supposed, that those Aliens that had valuable Estates could not, or would not, transport the greatest Part thereof hither; and leaving Children and their nearest Relations behind them, they would come hither only upon a Design of getting Riches, and to return home again therewith; particularly upon a Prospect of War: An Instance of which we had in the Practice of our Merchants, who when they had got Estates abroad, constantly return home to enjoy the same.
- 9. That the Queen's Customs would hereby be considerably diminished: For many Statutes, which lay a greater Duty on Aliens than on Natives, would, as to this, be repeal'd.

eice of the fall City, and would render

be given to Merchants to colour the Goods and Merchandizes of other Strangers beyond Sea, their Correspondents, Friends, or Relations, either out of Friendship, or to the great Detriment of her Majesty's Customs, and Trade of the native Subjects: A Practice which was offered to be proved before their late Majesties and the Lords of the Treasury; which Reasons did influence the Judgments of our Ancestors, as appears by the Statutes of 1 H. 7. c. 11. 11 H. 7. c. 14. 22 H. 8. c. 8.

Scavage of the Goods of all Merchants, as well Denizens as Aliens, were the indispensable Right and Inheritance of the Commonalty and Citizens of London, let to Farm by Lease (wherein are about 18 Years to come) for a Fine of 1000 l. and the yearly Rent of 950 l. and, among other things, are by Act of Parliament charged towards the raising of 1000 l. per Annum for ever, to the Orphans and other Creditors of the said City; which Duties would be wholly lost, to the great Prejudice

dice of the faid City, and would render them incapable to support the Government of the same.

Nation being now engaged in an expensive, though necessary War, Taxes high, Trade obstructed, great Quantities of Woolen and other Manusactures lay unfold; and, as the Effect hereof, the several Prices of making them very small; many Families destitute of Work throughout the Kingdom: What then, at such a Time as this, must be the Consequence of inviting hither, by a general Naturalization, Multitudes of poor Foreigners, who would only employ themselves in Trade and Manusactures?

The Bill having thus passed, a most extraordinary Change soon happened in the Administration, and the Publick universally shew'd a Dislike to it, by making the strongest Opposition (at the ensuing Election of a new Parliament) against such as promoted it. Three Years after it was repealed, as for as it related to all such

fuch Foreigners as were not born of English Parents. And in the Preamble of the Act for that Purpose, it was declared by the whole Legislature, That diverse Mischiefs and Inconveniences had been found by Experience to follow from this Act, to the Discouragement of the natural-born Subjects of this Kingdom, and to the Detriment of the Trade and Wealth thereof.

After so general a Dislike of the People, and so ample a Declaration of the Legislature, I did not expect to see another Attempt of this Kind; an Attempt, which seems calculated for no other Purpose, than to subject the People of this Kingdom to such a Foreign Yoke, as neither We nor our Posterity can bear.

Your Conduct in Parliament, Sir, has been always TRULY ENGLISH. The Temptation of a lucrative Employment could not prevail on you to forget the Trust you had undertaken for your Country. To whom, then, can I address myself? To whom can I cry for Succour in the Day of Calamity?

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mity? To You, Sir, ever watchful, ever anxious for the Prosperity of Britain; and who will never mock when its Fear cometh.

or sough I am, SIR, &c. Masa dan

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Anglo-Nativus.

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